Volume LXXXV CHICAGO, April 1, 1920 Number 5

UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

From Life to Death!
An eager breath,
A battle for the true and good,
An agony upon the rood;
A dark'ning of the light—
And night!

From Death to Life!
A peace from strife;
A voyage o'er an ocean wide
That moves from shore to shore
its tide;
A passing of the night—
And light!

From The Grail of Life. —*J. H. H.*

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXV THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1920 Number 5

No "proofs" of immortality have come to me so satisfying as the old-fashioned "Intimations," to use Wordsworth's high word. The inequalities of this life, the waste of force, nay the injustice to the individual in a thwarted and broken career in a universe so well balanced and so economic, leads me to rest in an expectation more satisfying than any "proof." I rest in the thought of an ordered universe, in the confidence that there is a meaning and purpose in life. I believe in the coherence of nature, and in the profound reality of human nature.

Human nature is made for bigger things than this life of force, this world of matter; it is built upon a foundation upon which eternity may build, and for which time is inadequate.

Browning says: "At least I believe in soul and I am very sure of God." This is an adequate creed for my need and an adequate foundation for my hope. It is my mission, as I interpret it, to deserve the immortality I cannot prove, to keep on building course after course the structure for which the Eternal, in ways I know not of, has laid an adequate foundation.

I do not want immortality unless the gates of life are to swing ever toward eternity and to swing open to all striving life to which God has given existence. I do not want a thought of immortality that permits the nurture in my heart of hatred toward any living thing. If a disembodied spirit means anything, and it does mean much to me, it means an escape from passion and hatred, a release from the physical forces that are based low in the subhuman strata of life. As I have escaped here on earth from the claw and the fang, have risen here in time above much cruelty, until at least at times my life is not dependent upon violence, so in the ever green fields of the eternal life, life must also rise on the wings of thought and love and faith to a larger life beyond the limitations of wealth and greed, of class and caste and creeds.

"I know not where His islands lift
Their fronded palms in air;
I only know I cannot drift
Beyond His love and care."

October, 1917. —*J. Ll. J.*

Unity bids hearty welcome to *The Freeman*, the new liberal weekly edited by our own co-editor, Francis Neilson, and Albert J. Nock, late of the staff of *The Nation*. The new magazine shows more the appearance of the great English weeklies, such as *The Spectator*, than of those with which we are already familiar in this country. In content, as revealed by the first two numbers, *The Freeman* achieves at once a high literary standard and an independent character of thought and utterance which augur well for the future. We have heard it questioned as to whether there is room in America for another progressive weekly journal—to which the answer is, that there is always room for a paper expressive of brave, honest and far-seeing thought! Indeed, such room is particularly apparent at this moment when the passing of *The Public* and the transformation of *The Dial* have left conspicuous vacancies in the ranks. Furthermore, it is not to be thought that *The Freeman* is to be any mere duplication of the papers now in the field. This is made clear enough in the first issue, where appears the suggestive statement: "If the object of language be to get oneself understood, (why) should the *Liberator*, the *Nation* and the *New Republic* be classified as 'the radical press,' when not one of them is radical or has ever shown even the feeblest tendency towards radicalism." *The Freeman* is evidently going to be radical in a new and more accurate sense. We are stirred by this promise, and await with confident anticipation its fulfillment.

The imperative need of the world today is the instant revision of the Peace Treaty and League Covenant. Keynes and Dillon and others have demonstrated this as a matter of logic; the German counter-revolution, with all its resulting confusion and threat of chaos, has translated this logic into events. Unless this pact of oppression and dishonor is lifted, Europe is doomed. Fortunately, the rejection of the Treaty for the second and last time by the United States Senate leaves the way wide open for the accomplishment of this end. Had America accepted this Treaty, it would have become at once the rule of established order the world around, and in this case literally an instance of "rule and ruin." Now, with its rejection by this country, the Treaty is dead. The whole laborious structure, reared in such unwisdom, tumbles to pieces. All the work of the Council of Versailles, so shameless in its indifference to pledged ideals, is undone forever. But this means, or should mean, instant action, to the end of the initiating a new work, which shall this time be conceived in the spirit of reconciliation, and thus be effective in knitting the world together in amity and concord. Peace, so fondly dreamed of, so ardently wished for, is not yet with us. Nor will it come, until the statesmanship of love has superseded the politics of vengeance.

The development of the revolution started by Kapp and his fellow-conspirators in Germany, has revealed more rapidly and vividly than might have been anticipated the real situation in that unhappy land. It is evident that the Germans, broken and disheartened by the disastrous overthrow of their arms, were swiftly given over to desperation by the incredible foolishness, not to say utter cruelty, of the Treaty drawn up by the Allies and associated powers. Hungry, cold, hopeless, they turned to the peoples of the world for help—the moderates of the Ebert type

to the sober second thought of England and America, the radicals or Sparticides to the Bolsheviki of Russia. One would have thought that the Allies, seeing the perils of the situation, would have rushed to Ebert's help, and made any modifications in the Treaty which would have strengthened his hands, and united behind his government the masses of the German people. But no! Like Shylock, the Allies were too eager for their pound of flesh to feel "the quality of mercy"; and thus like Shylock, also, they were led by their own blind avarice to their undoing. Ebert, temporarily overthrown by a ridiculous fiasco of militaristic revolt, returns to power, only to find himself face to face with a Bolshevist uprising of vast proportions. It is the story of Russia all over again; Kerensky, betrayed by the Allies, is successful against Korniloff, only to be overwhelmed by Lenine! Whether Ebert can hold his own against the Communists will probably be decided before these words are printed. It looks at this moment as though he would be successful. But if so, the crisis is only postponed. If anything is certain, it is this—that any attempt to enforce the Peace Treaty against the Central Empires by force of arms, will result in a triumphant Bolshevism everywhere in Europe east of the Rhine and Rhone.

To the case of Debs, and of Kate Richard O'Hare, is now added that of Miss Anita Whitney of Oakland, California, daughter of Senator Whitney and niece of Chief Justice Stephen Fields, graduate of Wellesley College, for eight years secretary of the Oakland Associated Charities, leading suffrage worker in California, former secretary and now a vice-president of the National Suffrage Association, former president of the California Collegiate Alumnæ, organizer and for two years president of the California Civic League, this dangerous and notorious person was arrested, under the "criminal syndicalism" law of the state, for addressing the Civic League, on the subject of the Negro problem in America, after she had been warned by the police not to do so; was tried and convicted on the charge of being a member of the Communist Labor Party, and is now in prison under sentence of from one to fourteen years. This is perhaps the worst case of governmental tyranny that has yet appeared; it is inconceivable that Miss Whitney's conviction can be affirmed by the higher courts. Meanwhile, however, a noble and lifelong servant of the people is languishing in prison—one more member of "the noble army of martyrs," one more witness against the shame and hypocrisy of America.

Recent investigations in the city and state of New York have revealed the astounding fact that no less than 2,500,000 quarts of milk produced by the dairymen are kept out of the city every day by deliberate action of the great distributing agencies. The purpose of this stoppage of the natural flow of one of the most important food supplies, is of course that of keeping up the price of milk to the present exorbitant and in many cases prohibitive level, and thus of guaranteeing to the distributors the 51 per cent profits which they were known to have made last year. Meanwhile, more than a third of the young children of New York City are anæmic, undernourished, in other words semi-starved! How much longer, we wonder, are the people of democratic America going to tolerate the control of food supplies by private agencies for private profit? Take milk, for example! This article is just as necessary to the health and general well-being of the men, women and children of New York, as water. A clean and abundant supply of the one is as indispensable as a clean and abundant supply of the other. Nobody would think today of water being in the hands of private companies, to be distributed meagerly, at a high price, for private profit. We agree that water shall be supplied without stint to all, at a nominal price. The same thing, now, should be true of milk. It should be just as much the task of the city to have milk at my door-step as water at my faucet.

No more interesting news has come to us from abroad of late than the report of the organization in France of "La Confederation des Travailleurs Intellectuels"—for short, the C. T. I. The aim of this new society is to group into one organization the great army of mental workers, who are at present represented as being crushed between the upper and nether mill-stones of capital and manual labor, or, as one clever writer puts it, "between Crœsus and Caliban." In a manifesto the organizers declare their intention to "represent, co-ordinate and defend the interests of all those men and women who derive their principal livelihood from the work of their brain and not from manual labor or invested capital." Clerks, inventors, managers, directors, writers, artists, teachers, lawyers and scientists, are among those named as eligible for membership. All this brings quickly to mind the so-called "hand and brain" movement in England; but there is one striking and vital contrast. The brain-workers are in both instances organized. In England, however, they are organized *with* the hand-workers, and with them constitute the membership of the great British Labor Party; whereas in France, the brain-workers are organized *against* the hand-workers, as also of course against capital. There is no question that the movement in England has the

greater significance and promise; for the workers, whether hand or brain, belong together. Their economic interests are in all things identical.

So the Archbishop of York objects to the recent appearance of Dr. Jowett in the pulpit of Durham Cathedral! It is reported that he understood the motives which led the Dean of Durham to issue the invitation, and had nothing but admiration for "the dignity and self-restraint and power" of the sermon which was preached; but nevertheless he could not approve of the action taken. The ground of his opposition was simply that it seemed to him unfortunate to have established a precedent which, if it were widely followed, would make a matter of profound importance to the future of Christendom dependent upon individual opinion and not upon the considered judgment of the Church. In other words, the Archbishop is more interested in the preservation of ecclesiastical authority than in the promotion of Christian comity. He would have had the Dean of Durham exclude Dr. Jowett from his pulpit until such time as the Church was ready formally to surrender its established privileges, and make common cause with non-conformity. This is, of course, the church and not religion speaking; it is an ecclesiastic and not a disciple giving opinion. What the people think of such an attitude is indicated by the vast crowds which assembled in Durham Cathedral to hear Dr. Jowett, and the almost universal approval with which the event was received throughout the Kingdom. Nothing is more evident than the fact that the day of the churchman is gone; and that with it is gone also the day of the church, unless it be delivered from the blight of ecclesiasticism. The common man is still incurably religious; but no longer will he have his religion mixed with the superstition of creed, ritual and priestcraft. He wants a church as much as ever, but it must be a church

> As lofty as the love of God,
> As ample as the wants of man.

In peril of "repetitions," which we hope will not be "vain," we mention here some recent books on war and the Great War, which every one should read. First and foremost are Keynes's "The Economic Consequences of the Peace" and Dillon's "The Inside Story of the Peace Conference"—two books, written by men who know, which justify all that UNITY has said in denunciation of the Paris Treaty and Covenant. Next in importance is Philip Gibbs's "Now It Can Be Told," described in these columns last week as the most terrible revelations of the meaning of war yet penned by the hand of man. As a companion piece to this, should be read the war poems of Siegfried Sassoon, as found in his two volumes "Counter-Attack" and "Picture Show." These poems sear like flame and cut like a surgeon's knife, the sham disguise of glory that hides the battle-field. Barbusse's "Clarté" and Latzko's "The Judgment of Peace" are worthy successors of the two greatest war books which were written during the period of the struggle. Lord Loreborn's "How the War Came" is the first of the books destined to disentagle from the lies of propaganda the facts about the origin of the European struggle. To these may be added Prof. Harry Ward's "The New Social Order," as a forecast of the new world which is some day to emerge from the hideous old world of blood and iron. Read these books, and find therein the eternal justification of pacifism!

The Community Church and Christianity

In current discussion of the character and work of the community church, no question, perhaps, is more important than that of its relation to Christianity. Our society here in America is predominantly a Christian society. Christianity is not recognized in our constitution or statute laws; we have no state religion and therefore no state church. But the majority of our citizens are Christians; and it is Christian customs, and holidays, and habits of thought, which determine the lives of most of our people. The question, therefore, as to whether the community church is a Christian church is a most pertinent one. There is no inquiry which is more important, especially when one considers the traditions, prejudices and ideals that are present in the hearts of those persons who support the religious life of America.

Before attempting direct answer to this inquiry, it is well to remember that the community church is to be understood as fundamentally that type of religious institution which exists for the purpose of giving organized expression to the spiritual life of the society in the midst of which it is placed. The community church is not an institution imposed from above or without. It represents no hard and fast statement of doctrine, or rule of worship, which is regarded by some small group of persons as the exclusive embodiment of religion, and is offered by them to their fellows as the one sure way of salvation. The community church is first and foremost *the community,* seeking to express and organize itself in terms of religious experience. It is in this respect like the school, or the public library, or the community center. It represents the attempt of the people of a certain village or city to set forth the higher aspects of their inner life. It formulates no creed to which all are asked to give assent; it establishes no worship, or form of ecclesiastical organization, to which all are invited to conform. It simply seeks to find and seize upon and develop that one spirit of idealism which is latent in the hearts of all men,

when they are living at their best and truest. The community church is the community met together on a plane not of business or of play, but of spiritual endeavor. It is men and women seeking to live together that religious life which they have found in sorrow and joy, in tribulation and triumph, to be the one common possession of their souls.

In this sense, the community church of course will represent, in the beginning at least, that which is already present in the hearts and minds of the people who compose the community. In addition, of course, it will attempt to develop, as well as to express, this higher reality of the spiritual life. But the community church is distinctive from all other churches in this particular—that it begins where the people are, and gathers them together at that point where they have already learned to stand together as neighbors and fellow-citizens. In a community, therefore, which is already Christian, the community church will itself be a Christian institution. Where the citizens all accept Jesus as their saviour or leader, the church which they sustain as fellow members will naturally be dedicated to the service of the Nazarene. As he is already, in the individual experience of the men and women concerned, the personal incarnation of spiritual idealism, so will he naturally be to them as the headstone of the church edifice. Nothing else is possible, if the community church is to be true to itself as the embodiment of the religious side of the community life. As well expect a public school to teach Hebrew to the children of Gentiles, or the public library to gather French books for the reading of an English-speaking town, as to expect a community church to remove Jesus from the high pinnacle of his unique spiritual eminence in a community where no other prophet of the free spirit is known or adored. In most communities, therefore, for the present, at least, the community church will naturally and inevitably be a Christian church. Nothing else is to be expected, or, indeed, from the standpoint of true democratic idealism, to be desired.

But what about the future? Nay, what about the present in certain places and under certain conditions? Can the community church always be merely a Christian church; or can it now be content to limit itself to this one type of religious organization? Already the community church has thrown off the limitations of denominationalism. It insists that, in its true order of development, it cannot be Presbyterian, or Methodist, or Unitarian—indeed, it seeks not only to pass beyond all bounds of a particular sect, but to escape even the restrictions of Protestantism. It would include within its membership both liberal and orthodox, both Protestant and Catholic, all who are Christian in the sense that they accept Jesus as master and his teachings as the rule of life. But is it possible that the community church can stop at this point? Is it really free if it limits its work and influence to the Christian world? Must it not, in contemplation at least of its ultimate possibilities of development, consider the challenge of overleaping even Christianity itself, and becoming the embodiment of a religion truly universal?

Take the situation in our large cities, for example, where Christians no longer constitute the whole or even a predominant part of the population. In the Borough of Manhattan in Greater New York, in a population of less than three million, there are considerably more than one million Jews. In other words, one person out of every two or three in this great area has no connection of any kind with Christianity. By tradition, and in certain cases by personal conviction, these men and women are members of another race, children of another culture, the followers of prophets known to Christianity only as the forerunners of the Christ. These persons, it is to be noted, are members of the community; they are recognized on equal terms with Christians as neighbors and citizens. They vote, they do business, they walk the streets, they rear families and sustain homes, just as their Christian contemporaries do. They are admitted in every way into the community life of their city. Indeed, in many of the institutions of this city, as in the theaters and newspapers, they have long since become the predominant factors. Now what shall the community church do, if these people desire to be members of such a church, as they are already members of such a community? If it is true to itself, must not the community church, under such circumstances, organize itself on lines which are not exclusively Christian? Already it proclaims itself as distinctive from all other churches in the one great fact, among others, that its doors are flung wide open to all who live in and contribute to the community life. Fidelity to this proclamation surely means that in such a place as Manhattan, Jews must be made as welcome as Christians! And let it be noted that this welcome must be offered to them as *Jews*, for our Hebrew comrades have as much right to preserve fidelity to Israel as Christians have to remain loyal to Christianity.

The logic of community religion, in other words, involves ultimately an escape from Christianity, as it has already involved an escape from Presbyterianism or Congregationalism. There can be no stopping short of the far and high goal of universal religion. The community church asserts that religion is a basic instinct of the soul. It declares that all men are to be recognized as religious beings, and that the basis of religious organization must be the one divine spirit which is within them all. But this spirit is of course not exclusively Christian, any more than it is exclusively Jewish. Christianity is only one particular expression of the one spirit, determined by prophetic

leadership, by historical accident, by intellectual modes of thought, by great crises in moral and social life. The same thing is true of Judaism, as of Confucianism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism. Back of all these faiths is the soul, which proves humanity to have its origin in God. When the great Parliament of Religions gathered in Chicago in 1893, the world saw therein the promise of the one religion which should some day end all differences of sect, and creed, and unite mankind in the one great family of God. Now the community church, if faithful to itself, is but an attempt to embody in a single church what was embodied universally in that Parliament. It seeks to take men where they are already gathered together and are living the common life, and lead them to the spiritual fulfillment of this social promise.

The community church, therefore, whatever it may be in most places today, cannot expect to confine itself for long exclusively to the Christian tradition. In saying this, let it be noted with all possible emphasis that the community church is not to be regarded in any sense as anti-Christian. We have already learned that, in eschewing denominationalism, the community church is not anti-denominational. It has no quarrel with Presbyterianism, or Unitarianism, or any other Protestant sect. It recognizes them all as having played their part in history, and as representing important aspects of thought and moral aspiration; and then seeks to unite them on that high plane of spiritual vision where they properly belong. So in its attitude toward Christianity! The community church seeks not to oppose Christianity, or to weaken it, or even to ignore it. On the contrary, it would receive it as one of the noblest and most beneficent of world religions, and build it into the structure of the new universal religion which is some day to capture the imagination and hold the allegiance of mankind. The community church, so far from being anti-Christian, is to be regarded as Christianity *plus*. It takes Christianity for what it is, and then adds to it those contributions of experience and idealism which can come from other races and other faiths. The main thing is that the altar of community religion shall be so wide and beautiful that all men will come to it gladly, and find there companionship alike with God and man. Like Jesus himself, the community church will thus seek not to destroy Christianity but to fulfill it.

In this sense of the word, may it not be suggested that, to just the extent that the community church transcends the limitations of Christianity, it becomes truly Christian? May we not dare to assert that the community church, which has a welcome alike for "Jew and Gentile, bond and free," is the one church which really represents today that spirit which was in Jesus? We search the Gospels in vain to find any evidence that the circle of Jesus's disciples was closed to any man who would enter it in the spirit of love. It is impossible to carry back into his day the sectarian differences which now divide the Protestant world. Equally difficult is it to recognize in his spirit or practice any distinction between Christian or Jew or pagan. Indeed, the word "Christian" did not appear in the lifetime of Jesus at all. It was only later, when men and women had begun to narrow their minds, and open their hearts to prejudice and fear, that a certain group of those who followed Jesus came to be known in Antioch as "Christians." Certainly if Christianity is to be what Jesus intended it to be, it must be at least as inclusive as his own spirit. And this, as we know, was as wide as the circle of humanity and as deep as the depths of human woe. We are inclined to believe, therefore, that a universal religion marks the ultimate fulfillment of the true Christian religion, and that the community church, therefore, in this one distinctive aspect of its universality, may be regarded in the highest and best sense of the word as Christian.

The main thing is that the community church shall never separate itself from the community life. Where men are, there it must find them; and from this place, high or low, it must lead them to those mountain tops of vision whence may be seen the glowing horizon of God's love. Religion, in its final anlaysis, means simply God. The church, after all, is only the altar of God. Around that altar must be gathered men of every creed and race and nation and color and class, that they may know, and work with, and love, one another. In such fellowship is God present, and his spirit found on earth as it is in heaven. For "where two or three are gathered together, there am I in the midst of them"!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

THE VOICE.

Atoms as old as stars,
Mutation on mutation,
Millions and millions of cells
Dividing, yet still the same;
From air and changing earth,
From ancient Eastern rivers,
From turquoise tropic seas,
Unto myself I came.

My spirit, like my flesh,
Sprang from a thousand sources,
From cave-man hunter and shepherd,
From Karnak, Cyprus, Rome;
The living thoughts in me
Spring from dead men and women
Forgotten time out of mind
And many as bubbles of foam.

Here for a moment's space
Into the light out of darkness,
The many in one are mingled,
Finding words with my breath;
Like a great voice in me
I hear them shout: "Forever
Seek for Beauty—she only
Fights with man against death."

—*Sara Teasdale.*

THE PULPIT

Some Every-Day Robberies

Sermon by Rev. Edward A. Lewis, Lyndonville, Vt.

"For this is a people robbed and plundered and none saith, Restore."—Isaiah 42:22.

In a recent issue of UNITY the editor tells his readers that he has lost a subscriber. The subscriber is dissatisfied because the editorials "are critical and not constructive; (they) emphasize and condemn evils, but offer no remedies." As a matter of fact this accusation is unjust and the charge is not true. But even if this paper were guilty of such an editorial policy I, for one, would renew my subscription every year just the same. There are a lot of people who are so "charitable" (!) that they cannot bear to hear even injustice and evil condemned. The man who stands up for the "under dog" wins my admiration, but if there is anyone who deserves the adjective "chicken-hearted" it is the fellow who is so tenderly affectioned and sympathetic that when he hears any unfavorable comment about the "top dog" he cannot stand it.

From the parable of the good Samaritan we might well assume that to Jesus the sins of omission were just as heinous as the sins of commission—if not more so. For there is denunciation of the priest and the Levite for their failure to minister unto the needs of the unfortunate man who had been assaulted, but there is here expressed or implied nothing whatever against the robbers themselves. Of course this doesn't prove that Jesus sanctioned the acts of bandits and outlaws, but to me it distinctly proves that Jesus recognized the fact that we sin as much by side-stepping as we do by misstepping. To be silent in the presence of wrong is one of the sins of omission that I believe to be as potent a factor in retarding progress today as many a sin of positive commission. Can you imagine a farmer taking the attitude that it is all right to cultivate the corn as much as you want to but that you must not destroy the mustard and other weeds that are growing up with it? Can you imagine a sane minded person saying, "It's all right to talk about making our city more beautiful but I object to this everlasting howl about tearing down the rotten old shacks and the ugly billboards"? Destructive criticism of evil is just as necessary as constructive criticism of good.

Some people say to me, "Why do you talk so much about the evils of society; can't you find anything good? Why not talk about the good and keep still about the wrong and the bad?" I suppose that if my house was broken into and most of what little valuable property I own were stolen, these people would advise me to go to the sheriff and tell him how glad I was his salary had been raised and ask him if he had heard how well the woman suffrage movement was progressing lately, and not say a word about my having been robbed! It is just as sensible to go to the public, which is being robbed every single day to an extent which is greater than it is aware, and tell it only about the blessings it does get and speak only about the rights which have not yet been taken away from it. The people have the power and authority to prevent social robbery and it is right to go before them and show them that it is their duty to themselves, to their fellow men, and to posterity, to use that power and authority in the vindication of social justice.

If a man is held up on the highway and forced to surrender his watch and his money at the point of a gun, the incident is given a good deal of publicity and the man is usually aggressively interested in having the criminal caught and punished. But every day we are all being robbed, and the crinimals not only go free but are honored. Of course it is a different kind of robbery. The difference is that in one case the work is done by a single individual with a handkerchief bound around his face. He does the business at night on a dark street. He holds up his victim at the point of a revolver. He gets loot to the value of a hundred dollars, more or less. While in the other case the thing is done on a gigantic scale by men who are not disguised. They operate day and night. They do not lay in wait on dark streets. They hire offices and own buildings in the business districts of large cities. They are armed with legal authority and poisonous political gases. And they get loot to the extent of hundreds of thousands of dollars every year. This kind of robbery doesn't happen every once in a while, it is going on every day. Of course it isn't called robbery by those who benefit by it or by those who fear to call a spade a spade. But it is robbery, and there are different ways of carrying it on with almost absolute safety. One very fruitful means is by monopoly—"monopoly of waterfronts, lumber forests, mineral deposits, subterranean oil lakes, whole kingdoms of agricultural areas in part rackrented and in part kept out of use to make the rackrents higher."

When the cost of living increases more and faster than a man's income, he is being robbed. The result is just the same as if the cost of living had remained stable and every week a thief stole part of his pay. This kind of robbery has been going on every day for years. Do you wonder how much longer it will be permitted? Louis F. Post knows how much longer this state of affairs will continue. He says, "So long as the highways of trade are blocked by obstructive tariffs, whether railway tariffs or protective tariffs, and so long as monopoly of natural resources is permitted as a part of legitimate business, instead of being stopped as obstructive to legitimate business, and as inexcusable robbery, just so long will useful producers suffer from high costs of living."

It has always been difficult for me to understand how the private ownership of natural resources such as mineral deposits, water power, oil wells, etc., could be justified. It seems perfectly obvious to me that these things which are the gifts of God to mankind should belong as much to one man as to another. It would be impractical to divide the world up and give every man a title to his share of it. But it would not be impractical for society to operate the natural resources and divide the benefits in terms of money. I used to think that private ownership of land gave the owner only the use of the surface of the land and the space immediately below it and above it. But modern engineering has changed that idea. The height of sky-scrapers and the depth of mines and oil wells is not limited in the deeds of property. Is it not possible that the science of engineering will yet be the means of converting people to the idea of a socially owned earth? For the earth (unfortunately!) is not flat but round, and therefore the depth to which an oil well might be legally drilled under

the present system is limited to a distance equal to one-half the diameter of the earth. A well at Fairmont, W. Va., is already 7,579 feet deep, and they are still drilling! Let us hope, however, that we do not have to wait for a dispute to arise over the possession of an oil lake or mineral deposit at the center of the earth before the injustice of the present system is understood and the robbery resulting from private ownership of natural resources is ended. This is one kind of robbery that affects the vast majority of people and that is taking place every day.

The robbery of working men and women by the owners of the tools of industry is another kind of robbery that is taking place every day. We hear a lot about the high wages that the laborer is getting today. And many laborers are no doubt getting a higher wage than they are earning if we take the pay for the average day's work for a standard. But I believe that even today such cases are the exception and not the rule. A man's income must be figured by the year, and if industry is so poorly organized that he cannot be employed all the year round, whose fault is that? In the shoe industry nearly all the raw materials have increased in price since the war. Administrative and selling expenses have risen also. The wages paid to labor have increased and so has the price of the finished shoe. But the proportions are not the same today as they were before the war. Out of every dollar you used to pay for shoes 23 cents went to the laborer. Now you pay more dollars for your shoes but the laborer now gets only 12 cents out of each dollar, which is 43 per cent less than he got before. (cf. Christian Work, 11/29/19.) It is to be expected that conditions in other industries are not much different.

During the war there was great talk of the phenomenally high wages that women were said to be receiving in industry. The National Consumers' League made an investigation and they found that these high wages were the exceptional and not the usual thing. In general the wages were found to be even below the level of subsistence. In Philadelphia thousands of girls were found making army cloth in government plants at wages around the level of $8, $9 and $10 weekly.

A recent investigation in New York showed that women engaged in doing the same work as men, and often, according to the employers' testimony, exceeding the production of men, were paid from two-thirds to three-fourths the wages men were receiving.

This is a statement made by Miss Agnes De Lima of the National Consumers' League and published in the *Christian Science Monitor,* December 27, 1919. She says, "Women take less money because they are not organized and have not been in industry long enough to learn to fight for their rights."

General testimony before minimum wage commissions everywhere indicates that $15 to $18 per week is the lowest permissible wage for women if a standard of reasonable health and comfort is to be maintained. In the candy industry 60 per cent of the workers are women. Last September 80 per cent of these women were receiving less than $15 per week. The average wage paid in nineteen large factories was found to be $9.76 per week. (cf. *Public,* Vol. 22, p. 1039.) This exploitation of men and women laborers is nothing but robbery, and it is another of the many forms of robbery that are going on every day.

We take the attitude that those who share in the loot of all this social robbery want us to take when we pay our bills and consider ourselves fortunate that conditions are not worse than they are. In the Thanksgiving number of the *Universalist Leader* we were invited to be happy and were told not to complain even if shoes were $15 a pair; we should be thankful we were not centipedes! Such foolery out-Pollyannas Pollyanna. We are to give thanks when we are stripped and beaten by the robbers if they let us off with our lives! The report of the Secretary of the Treasury shows that nearly half of the coal operators in the country earned profits on their capital stock ranging from 100 to 785 per cent in 1917. The prices that we paid for coal were so high that half the mines were paid profits equal to their entire capital, and one of the mines was paid profits equal to 78 times its capitalization. (Cf. speech of Masil M. Manily before Brownsville Labor Lyceum in Brooklyn, published in *Christian Science Monitor,* January 13, 1920.)

I suppose that if this fact were brought to the attention of the man who found so much to be thankful for last Thanksgiving and printed his discoveries in the religious paper, he would say, "Well, you ought to be thankful that winter doesn't last all the year round, if it did you would have to buy more coal." If such robbery were unavoidable this philosophy would not be so bad. But so long as we have the power and the authority to protect ourselves against such rank injustice and fail to do so we are fools.

So far I have spoken only about some of the methods by which we are robbed of money every day. I might continue a long time before I would exhaust the list. But there is another kind of robbery that is as wicked as any of the others. It is the robbing of men, women and children of the health and happiness which God intended us all to enjoy.

Twenty-one nations make special regulations for the employment of mothers before and after childbirth. The United States is not on this list. Nearly every industrial country forbids the employment in factories of children under fourteen. There are a few nations, however, which have not yet become sufficiently civilized to safeguard their youth by such provisions. Among these nations we find Rumania, Spain, India—and the United States. (See *New Republic,* November 12, 1919, p. 301.)

"Twenty-eight states (in our country) allow children under sixteen to work more than eight hours a day in stores and local establishments on the mistaken theory that children's work in stores is not detrimental. Nineteen states allow these children to work at night, and in sixteen states children under fourteen can be employed for such work. Little girls under twelve are still working eleven hours a day in cotton mills." (Gospel for a Working World, by Ward, 1918, page 54.)

God knows it is bad enough to rob a man of money, but to rob a child of his childhood is a thousand times worse.

Better a pauper, penniless, asleep on the kindly sod,
Better a gypsy houseless, but near to the heart of God
That beats for the ear not dulled by the clanking wheels of care;
Better starvation and freedom, and hope, and the good sweet air;
Than death to the something in him that was born to laugh and dream,
That was kin to the idle lilies and the ripples of the stream,
For out of the dreams of boyhood, the visions that come and go
The Boy gains strength unknowing, that the Man shall prove and know,
The crystal cistern of mirth must be filled to the brim in May
If the soul is to faint not nor perish in the heat of the life's later day.

(—*Don Marquis.*)

Poverty, sickness and death are also robbers that are continuously plundering the homes of our land and every land. People used to be resigned to these onslaughts. They used to say very piously, "The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away." But today we know that ignorance and social indifference are responsible for a very large proportion of our suffering and loss of life. According to Edgar James Swift (Psychology for the Day's Work) "there are over 625,000 deaths annually in the United States which could be prevented, and at least half of the 3,000,000 sick beds now constantly filled would be empty if the existing knowledge of hygiene were applied." I have not seen Mr. Swift's book, but I think that his figures for preventable deaths must be intended to mean only those resulting from accidents and unhealthy conditions in industry, because in New York State alone the State Health Commissioner (H. M. Briggs) reports 10,197 deaths from tuberculosis only. And remember that tuberculosis is a preventable disease. When society learns to hire doctors to prevent sickness as well as to cure it our people will not be so often robbed of health or so early robbed of life.

Poverty is another robber who is always stalking through our cities. A great many people have no sympathy for the poor. "In this country of freedom and opportunity," they say, "there is no excuse for poverty. If a man is willing to work and save his money he will never be in want." And then they will tell you about some fellow who started in as an office boy and worked up to a position that paid him such a high salary that he was rolling in wealth before he died. These people will do well to read the reports of the Council of Social Agencies of Cincinnati. These reports give an analysis of the poverty in that city for the year of 1918 and they show that the chief cause of poverty is neither shiftlessness nor delinquency, but undeserved misfortune. Out of a total of 8,000 cases only 310 persons were suffering as the result of extravagance, intemperance and lack of skill in home management. That is to say, 96 per cent of the poor are destitute through no fault of their own. There are thousands today who have been robbed by poverty of the joys to which they are as much entitled as you and I. Some day men will live together as Christian brothers, and in that day society will insure its members against misfortune and the necessities of life will be guaranteed to all.

And now I want to speak about the robbery of individual freedom. I want to speak about the taking away of man's right to live according to the dictates of *HIS OWN* conscience. So long as a man does not interfere with the rights of any other man it is his moral privilege to live as he chooses. And we used to think it was his constitutional right to express his ideas and his ideals, if he wanted to, to any one who would listen to him. "But this is a people robbed and plundered, and there is (almost) none to cry, 'Restore.'"

There are over 2,000 political prisoners in our country; many of them have been sent to prison for no greater offense than expressing an idea. Their ideas may be right or they may be wrong, that is not the question, and it makes no difference whether their ideas are right or wrong, they have been robbed of liberty just the same. "They are snared in holes, and they are hid in prison houses: they are for a prey, and none delivereth; for a spoil, and none saith, Restore."

Every man has a right to his own opinion and every man has a right to try to convert others to what he believes to be right. Jesus sought to encourage independent thinking; he never told any one to obey any conscience but his own. In the sermon on the mount we find him saying, "Ye have heard it said that ye should do so and so, but I say unto you, to do otherwise." Jesus is worshipped for his independent character. One of the most valuable sentences that fell from his lips is one that is almost never heard: "Why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?" (Luke xii:57.) But today there are hundreds of men and women in prison in this "Christian" land of "freedom" for following the example of Jesus in judging for themselves what is right and promulgating their own ideas. Is democracy such a puny thing that it cannot survive criticism?

This is a people robbed and plundered, but what has the church to do with it? In a small strike in a mining village, Mr. Harry F. Ward tells us, two churches were broken up. A minister came from a distant place to investigate the situation. The manager of the company was extremely courteous until he discovered that he represented the church. "What has the church to do with it anyway?" he said. "There was a preacher here who went to shooting off his mouth about the strike. We killed off his church! Then he came crawling on his belly to us to help him, so we gave him a job in the mine."

An I. W. W. leader once said to Harry F. Ward, "We fellows can't put anything across until conditions are rotten enough to justify it."

Is the church interested in finding out the conditions which lead to industrial unrest? Will the church permit her ministers to try to make the people see and understand these conditions? Will the church support the ministers who demand justice for all the people all the time?

The church has so long preached to the weak to be content with their condition and to thank God it was not worse that already it may be too late for any possible reform to save it from collapse. But if it can be saved at all it can only be saved by preaching righteousness to the strong and to the weak the untiring search for justice. For this is a nation robbed and plundered and organized Christianity will surely cease to exist if it does not cry, "Restore!"

CONTRIBUTED

The Way of Life

The Way of Life is in large part tortuous and hard because we make it so. We entangle ourselves in the webs of our vanities and petty ambitions and then complain because we find life so hard.

It is said that a liar must have a good memory. The truthful man may regret that he forgets but he need not worry about it. It is the constant effort to do justly by all men that simplifies life. The willingness to apply the Golden Rule clears the spiritual air; it drives away the clouds of hate which darken the world. The way only becomes difficult when we forget the law of love.

Those who find life an entangling maze are engaged in the soul destroying task of self seeking. They stumble along in the darkness of their own conceit. The moment they forget themselves they find themselves. We only truly live as we obey the law of life. If we deny that law life becomes for us a chaos.

We are free only as we are free from our own selves, as we are rulers of our souls. He who seeks his own ends is ruled by vanity which blinds his spiritual eyes. He who rules himself is master of his own soul. He finds his freedom not in the denial of but in obedince to the law of life.

The locomotive off the track is a poor helpless mass of steel. But on the track conforming to the law of its being it is a thing of mighty power.

The most difficult situation becomes simple when it is clarified by good-will. Our courts are full of complicated cases because men are trying to get an advantage over one another rather than endeavoring to do the just and kindly thing. Controversy vanishes when men are willing to sit down and talk it over.

Our minds are illumined and our judgments are enlightened the very moment we cease to think of our own advantage and begin to think of what is for the common good. We are then in a position to know the truth.

The Path is straight and the Way smooth for the man who looks out and not in, up and not down. If we are willing to follow the ideal of brotherhood we may find marching along the Way of Life strenuous business but the path will never be crooked.

We waste our energy seeking our own advantage. Our energy increases as we seek to serve. "They that wait on the Lord shall renew their strength." Life controlled by the immeasurable power of Love is not weak but strong. It has in it the mighty tides of the Universe. When Life is freed from the entangling meshes of self seeking it steps forth into the light of the sun of righteousness brave and truly self reliant. Life then contains within it forces that no man can withstand. Clothed in the garments of Love we can withstand the fires of Hate and endure to the end, knowing that with us is the Victory.

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

I should be the very last man to dispense with faith in a future life. I have a firm conviction that the soul is an existence of an indestructible nature, whose working is from eternity to eternity. It is like the sun, which seems indeed to set, but really never sets, shining on in unchangeable splendour.

—*Goethe.*

SELECTED

Great Hopes for Great Souls

Great hopes are possible only when the finite opens its life to the infinite. Only as man climbs the mount of attainment does he discern the vision. He knows God in proportion as he himself is God-like. Deathless is man so far as he is love. Immortal is the soul so far as it is true. Indissoluble are the bands that unite heart to heart, so long as they throb with helpfulness.

Do you ask for something more definite than this concerning the future? What, and where and how is it all to be? I do not know. I dare not venture to guess. I am warned by the experience of the past not to try to forecast the future. I am sure it will be something loftier than my fondest fancies, nobler than my noblest dreams. Pour into the future your ultimate wants, project into it your deepest hunger, people it with your heart's fondest creations. and then, in the name of the past experience of the race, in the name of the unmeasured possibilities about and within us, Hope will say, "No, it is not this; it is something very, very different from all this, because it will be something immensely better," for "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God has prepared for them that love Him."

Early one Sunday morning, just as the sun was rising out of the depths of ocean, the throb of the great engine in the heart of a noble steamer ceased, the tireless moaning of the machinery was silent, and the great ship rolled passively in mid-sea. A thousand passengers were wakened out of their quiet sleep by the unexpected calm, the surprise of the stillness. Were the fires out? Was the machinery broken or the wheel disabled? No. It was but the giving of the body of a little child of one of the steerage passengers to the waves. It was a Sunday morning burial of a wee babe at sea. The mother was a poor, sick Irish emigrant, who was carrying her first-born child, the delight and joy of the steerage for the first days of the voyage, to the father and husband, who had preceded them to the coal fields of Pennsylvania. I had seen something of the mother before, and saw much of her after this solemn burial at sea. I saw how she struggled with her grief and wrestled with her loneliness. As we were entering the harbor at New York, I went down to that dingy hold for a last word and a good-bye. The flood-gates had at last given way, and a great heart relieved itself in mighty sobs and streams of bitter tears. When the storm subsided, she said, "Indade, indade, mister, it be not for the darlin' baby that I bees a-crying, for I think it must be well with him, for he was so sweet and innocent-like, but it bees for poor Patsy, who will be sorely disappointed when I comes to him without his baby." Better than all the arguments that could be given was this divine self-forgetfulness springing out of that blessed heart in its Mary-anguish, as evidence of the eternal life. This is immortality. This is "life with God," and it must live as long as God lives. Better than all materialization was this transcendent triumph over matter which made itself manifest in that emigrant heart. Here was a great hope springing out of a great soul. I say "great soul" because, spite of the simplicity of her life, the mea-

gerness of her lettered lore, there was in that heart a greatness akin to Calvary, that which might well challenge all the loving inspirations that artists have ever put into the face of the Madonna. This is deserving immortality, partaking of immortality, God in us, we in God, forever and forever more.

Away then with our petty "arguments." Hush our childish clamor for "proofs." Waste no time in waiting for "revelations." If we would be immortal, let the infinite life tide through our finite life. Let us be the truth and love that is now and ever shall be, to doubt which is to believe in chaos, to be deaf to all melody, blind to all beauty, and opposed to all law. It is to deny all science and to honor no truth. He who would be immortal must deserve immortality by living now as though he were embosomed in eternity, already clothed upon with deathlessness.

—*Jenkin Lloyd Jones.*

"The Finding and Losing of Happiness"

The supreme happiness of life consists in human relationships, in the efforts of the spirit or the achievements of the soul, and in the relationship which the fewest and the electest establish between themselves and the Infinite. In all of these, happiness is not found or discovered but personally created and achieved. First of the human relationships is friendship than which life offers no purer joy nor truer happiness to youth expectant, to middle age mature, to age resigning,—and the secret of the happiness that friendship confers lies in that which it joys to give.

Again, earth holds no purer joy than that yielded by the bond of parent and child, and in this relation there is no measured exchange of joys. For the happiness lies wholly in the joy of giving, save in those joyless, tragic exceptions where there is calculated exchange rather than unmeasured and immeasurable bounty.

Last of the human relationships yielding happiness in the highest, but in truth first, is the marriage relationship wherein happiness lies because given to the fullest. Happiness is never to be gotten but ever to be given. So many look to others for happiness instead of touching the life of others to and by happiness. This is oft-times the great difficulty and problem in marriage. That marriage fails in which each looks to the other for happiness,—the happiness which each can give the other but neither is free to seek of the other or at the other's hands.

Whenever happiness fails in these human relationships, it is because these have been misconceived and misunderstood, because they who find not happiness erred in one of two ways or both. They sought for themselves instead of seeking to give themselves, and they denied another freedom, whether friend or child, parent or brother, husband or wife. And in their eager insistence upon that self-fulfilment without which true happiness can never be, they forgot that self-insistence fails unless it makes possible, and even moves others to, the fullest self-expression.

They who are truly unhappy, if but they knew, would find that their unhappiness lies in themselves, yes, in their inmost selves,—not in mood nor temperament—but in that taint of souls more hurtful almost than any other, namely, selfishness. The terribly unhappy are sometimes, oft times, the most selfish, those who look upon life as a cornucopia, which, if it fail to satisfy their unappeasable hunger and their insatiable avarice, has cheated and robbed them. The selfish are bound to be unhappy for, save in the rarest cases, there must be clash and collision between the orbit of self-centredness and the life orbit of all-centredness. The world was not made to minister to me, so that, insisting upon such ministrations, I am sure to be unhappy at what I esteem the failure of the world, just as reversely he who ministers to others is on the high road to happiness, has gained the possession of one of the keys that lock the seven-barred gate to the Temple of Happiness.

—*Stephen S. Wise.*

THE CONTINUING CITY.

God, who made man out of dust,
Willed him to be
Not to known ends, but to trust
His decree.

This is our city, a soul
Walled within clay;
Separate hearts of one whole,
Bound we obey.

All that He meant us to be,
Could we discern,—
Life had no meaning,—or we
Had not to learn.

Thou, beloved, doubt not the truth
Eyesight makes dim!
All life, to age from youth,
Brings us to Him:

Him Whom thou has not seen,
Canst not yet know:
Human hearts stand between,
His to foreshow.

Couldst thou possess thine own,
That were the key;
He, to Whom hearts are known,
Keeps it from thee.

Thou all thy days must live,
Thyself the quest;
Plucking the heart to give
From thine own breast.

Till thou, from other eyes,
At kindred calls,
Seest thine own towers arise,
And thine own walls,—

Where, conquering the wide air,
Peopling its waste,
Citadels everywhere
Like stars stand based:

Losing thy soul, thy soul
Again to find;
Rendering toward that goal
Thy separate mind.

—*Laurence Housman.*

The Oxford Book of English Mystical Verse.

BLUESTONE.

Under the bluestone they quarried and cut,
Under a great rock, facing blue sky,
Not too far from the home of their pride,
Six feet deep my fathers lie;
Their great arms are folded on each broad breast,
Their strong voices quiet, for their lips are dust;
And none, forever, shall break their rest—
But theirs are the words, the deeds that I trust!
They rise from the dead, tho' their graves are shut
Under the bluestone they quarried and cut.

—*Marguerite Wilkinson.*

New York Evening Post.

THE STUDY TABLE

"The Grail of Life"—An Easter Message

The Grail of Life, An Anthology of Heroic Death and Immortal Life. By John Haynes Holmes and Lillian Browne-Olf. Published by Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

To one who comes from orthodoxy into liberalism, there is perhaps no one liberation more surprising, no attitude of mind more attractive, no habit of thought more refreshing, than the rational attitude regarding death. All of the unhealthy, morbid gloom of the orthodox atmosphere, so aptly symbolized by the all-pervasive black, the solemn stillness, the excluded sunlight, the subdued whisperings, the apparently hopeless grief of those who profess to accept a sure antidote for sorrow, seem swept away by the strong invigorating breezes of the rationalistic interpretation of both death and life. In place of a blind and seemingly helpless faith based upon a credulous and unquestioning belief, one finds an assured hope founded upon science and knowledge of the laws of the universe. In place of fearful forebodings and shrinking from the great terror, avoidance of even the mention of its name and a cowardly fear of its approach, one finds courage in facing it and a calm acceptance of its place as an inevitable and even desirable part of life. And this hope-born courage and calm radiance of spirit dominate not only the hours that precede but those which follow the moment of death, so that the act of death itself and the lives of those who are thereby bereaved, become alike heroic, suggesting not gloom and darkness and decay, but sunlight and mountain air, supreme beauty and the living presence of the Eternal.

It is this kind of heroic death, this vision of immortal life, as seen and felt by the strong, fearless souls of all ages and all races which the editors of "The Grail of Life" have sought to select and present within the covers of their book and to give to the vast company of those who mourn, especially that company to whom the book is "reverently dedicated," whose numbers have been so tragically and needlessly multiplied during the great war.

That they have succeeded needs hardly to be said. UNITY's readers will have anticipated that the clear, heroic vision with which its editor faces the known tragedies of this life will be equally his in gazing upon the unknown majesties of death and whatever may be beyond.

We confess to finding in these pages a comfort and an assurance, a healthful, wholesome vigor of attitude, which we were entirely unable to gain from Sir Oliver Lodge's stories of "spirit communications" and repeated assertions that "the boys who died in the trenches are eagerly waiting to speak to us." Indeed we wish it were possible to present to each member of Sir Oliver's huge audiences of the sorrowful a copy of this anthology.

Of the carefully selected and well arranged contents of the book, one can hardly speak in detail in this brief space. Mr. Holmes' own two verses, which are printed upon the cover page this week, are indicative of the atmosphere of the whole book. The range of authors is wide, both chronologically and geographically. To mention but a few of the "prophet souls of all the years" who have been summoned to form this "cloud of witnesses," there are the ancient words of the Vedic writers, the assurance of Zoroaster, sayings from the Egyptian Book of the Dead, the strong speech of Plato and Aristotle and Aeschylus and Euripides and the other great Grecians, of Solomon and Paul and Jesus, St. Anselm and St. Augustine and Athanasius, Fenelon and Madame Guyon, Petrarch, Dante, Da Vinci, Savonarola, Shakespeare, Knox, Calvin, Voltaire, Lecky, our own Channing and Parker, Emerson and Whitman, and even Ingersoll and Paine.

One also finds the moderns, Shelley and Byron and Wordsworth and Tennyson; Tagore; Galsworthy and Bernard Shaw, Romain Rolland and Rupert Brooke, Markham and Vachel Lindsay, Mark Twain and Rauschenbusch.

And all these and many more, from their varying angles and differing viewpoints, voice the same quiet note of calm, peaceful assurance in the face of the great new adventure which we call Death. Yet perhaps no one of them all, save possibly the few medieval saints, bases his conviction upon any divine authority, any infallible scripture, or a revelation by any supernatural being. Rather is their attitude based upon the broad foundations of science, the belief in the integrity and dignity of the human mind and soul, and in the rational order of the Universe.

The book shows a most commendable and refreshing absence of sentimental and merely emotional or "pretty" expressions. Its value to the grieving hearts of the world, as well as to all who face life's problems intelligently, cannot well be overestimated. The cumulative testimony it bears that so large a majority of the great souls of humanity have refused to be appalled either by the grief or the terror of death and have held unshaken the conviction that death has no sting and the only victory of the grave lies beyond its confines, must bring infinite consolation to its readers and ought to be deemed at least as convincing and as scientific as the testimony of those individuals who report visions and "spirit messages" and other "proofs" of continued existence. Surely it cannot fail to fulfill the hopes of its compilers that it may "teach its readers that the atmosphere of death may be as healthful as that of life."

The book as a whole is a demonstration of that statement of Cicero's with which its second part is prefaced:

> There is, I know not how, in the minds of men, a certain presage as it were, of a future existence. And this takes the deepest root, and is most discoverable in the greatest geniuses and most exalted souls.

This presage finds sure and exultant expression in the triumphant chant of Whitman:

> Joy, shipmate, joy!
> (Pleas'd to my soul at death, I cry)
> Our life is closed, our life begins,
> The long, long anchorage we leave,
> The ship is clear at last, she leaps!
> She swiftly courses from the shore,
> Joy, shipmate, joy!

SUSAN QUACKENBUSH.

To me the eternal existence of my soul is proved from my idea of activity. If I work incessantly till my death, nature is bound to give me another form of existence when the present can no longer sustain my spirit. —*Goethe.*

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

LAURENCE HOUSMAN AT LINCOLN CENTRE, CHICAGO.

The Lincoln Centre Fellowship, by a stroke of good fortune, has secured the presence of the distinguished English artist, novelist, poet and dramatist, Laurence Housman, for Wednesday evening, April 7. Mr. Housman's exquisite comedy, "Prunella," which was delightfully produced at the Playhouse, Chicago, some four years ago, will be remembered with enthusiasm by all who saw it. His "Englishwoman's Love Letters" are also well known to American readers, while his numerous other plays, books of poems, novels, and charming fairy tales for children, illustrated by himself, have won for him many friends everywhere. He is also an ardent supporter of the woman movement, and a man of advanced social and political ideals. He is possessed of an unusually pleasing personality and charm of manner and is a delightful reader and interpreter. For the Fellowship Mr. Housman will read three short plays and some of his poems.

Open meeting. Dinner, 6:30; 75 cents per plate. Make dinner reservations with Mrs. David Lofts, Social Chairman, 2622 Lake View Avenue. Phone, Lincoln 3064.

WHAT IS THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS?

(Condensed.)

In all accounts of political affairs in India that have come to us here in America during recent years, we have seen much about the Indian National Congress. This fact naturally starts many inquiries in our minds.

Mr. Eardley Norton, an eminent English lawyer who has lived long in India, thus describes the origin and early history of the Congress:

"In the year 1885, some seventy-two Indian gentlemen assembled in Bombay to consult together over the more immediate and pressing political wants of their fellow-countrymen. These men had been much influenced by English culture and English civilization, and their thoughts were drawn to a considerable degree from the same fountain source whence Englishmen were inspired with dreams of freedom and self-government.

"The next year (1886) 412 representatives gathered at Calcutta. The number rose in 1887 to 607 in Madras, and in 1889, curiously enough, to exactly the same number in Bombay. That was the year when Sir William Wedderburn presided, and when educated India listened to the oratorial magnetism of Charles Bradlaugh, who was visiting India after a very severe illness at home. In 1890, 677 delegates assembled at Calcutta; in 1891, 812 at Nagpore; in 1892, 625 at Allahabad; in 1893, 868 at Lahore, and in 1894, at Madras, 1,200 sat under the presidency of Mr. Alfred Webb, a home-rule member of the British Parliament, who exercised a strong fascination over his hearers. In 1895, Poona welcomed 1,584 delegates.

"No one who has sat through a Congress can fail to have been struck with the orderliness of its proceedings, the instant obedience to the chair, the remarkable gifts of speech and readiness of debate which I have heard a competent critic declare to be not unworthy of the best traditions of the front bench of the House of Commons in London. The meetings of the Congress are always conspicuous for the earnestness which marks the members. British officials may disagree, you may disagree, with some of the opinions expressed. None the less is it true that the men who are selected to speak are in the main experts in the subjects with which they deal. Their utterances are entitled to weight, as being the outcome of varied personal experiences, and told for the most part at the risk of much hostile and dangerous criticism. As presentations of the "Indian side" of the questions under discussion; as expositions of what educated India believes to be and declares to be her urgent political, industrial and economic needs, they form the most valuable library of reference and information within reach of the British rulers of India—if only those rulers were wise enough to avail themselves of it!"

Mr. Norton gives the number of delegates present at the Poona Congress in 1895 as 1,584. Since that time the number has sometimes sunk below those figures, but sometimes it has risen very much above them. At Bombay, in 1915, it rose to 2,259, at Lucknow in 1916 to 2,350, and at Amritsar in 1919 to more than 8,000. It should be borne in mind that these numbers do not mean attendants at the Congress, but delegates sent from constituencies in distinctly representative capacities. The attendants are usually several times as many, often reaching 5,000, 6,000 and 7,000, and at Amritsar they seem to have exceeded 20,000.

The delegates come from absolutely every part of India. They are of every religion that India knows: Hindus in largest numbers, of course; Mohammedans next; then Jains, Buddhists, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, Arya-Samajists, Brahmo-Samajists, Theosophists. Brahmins are the most numerous, but all castes are represented, and also "outcasts" or those classes of Hindus that are regarded as below all caste. Besides lawyers there are in attendance many editors, professors in colleges and other teachers, *zemindars*, or large land holders, business men of all types, including representatives of every calling. In the more recent Congresses there have been greatly increased numbers of workingmen from factories and mills, and *ryots*, or small farmers. Thus it is no exaggeration to call the Indian National Congress a body that truly represents the India of today.

An authoritative statement of the objects of the Congress in the minds of those who organized it, may be obtained from the presidential address of Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, its first president. We find Mr. Bonnerji saying:

"The objects of the Congress may for the most part be classed under the following heads:

"(1) The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the most earnest workers for the cause of India in the different parts of the Empire.

"(2) The eradication, by direct friendly intercourse, of race, creed and provincial prejudices existing among Indians, and the development of sentiments of national unity.

"(3) An authoritative record after this has been elicited by fullest discussion, of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing social questions of the day.

"(4) The determination of the lines upon which, and the methods by which, during the twelve months following each Congress meeting, it seems desirable for Indian political leaders to labor in the public interests."

The present constitution of the Congress, adopted in 1908 and amended in 1911 and 1912, brings out the political change which has come about. Says Article I of the constitution:

"The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire, and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organizing the intellectual,

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moral, economic and industrial resources of the contry."

In harmony with this opening article of the present constitution, we find the Congress in all its later meetings dealing strongly with all important political questions bearing upon the welfare or progress of India, pointing out respectfully but clearly the injustices and wrongs that the Indian people regard themselves as suffering, and are especially pressing their demand for home-rule like that of Canada, Australia and South Africa.

It has been the fortune of the present writer to attend two sessions of the Indian National Congress, that of 1895 at Poona and that of 1913 at Karachi. Truth compels me to say that I never attended more orderly or more dignified gatherings, and I carefully guard my words when I say that I never heard better speaking in any great public body, not even in the British Parliament or the Congress of the United States.

There is no denying that the Congress has always been marked by the high ability of its leaders. As to the dignity and decorum with which its meetings have been conducted, there has been one exception, only one. That was at Surat in 1907, when a serious controversy arose between two opposing parties, resulting in bitter words, some physical violence and a temporary division of the Congress into two bodies known on the one hand as "Moderates" and on the other as "Radicals" or "Extremists." But taking the meetings of the Congress as a whole, from the beginning until now, their proceedings and their discussions have been carried on with a degree of moderation, candor and courtesy toward all parties and toward the Government, far exceeding what is often witnessed in public political bodies in England or in America.

—*J. T. Sunderland.*

PACIFISM AND THE FACTS.

A letter written by the Rev. Charles F. Dole to the

Editor *Advertiser*—I must not claim too much of your space but I owe it to the interest of truth and fair play to deprecate the idea in your editorial of February 26, that pacifism is weak and mushy. No. It rests upon solid facts. Let me instance a few such facts out of a thousand.

America was induced to enter the war to help defend civilization against the one enemy, Germany. If we did not know better before, the Peace Treaty reveals that every arrogant nationalism, and not German only, is the enemy of civilization. The selfishness of British imperialism and its habitual regardlessness of small nations helped to prepare for the great war. Lloyd George's Chauvinist Mansion House speech in 1911, with its ugly threat against Germany, and the ill-starred secret agreement that bound up France and England with the imperial aims of the rotten government of the Czar, and the huge loans of Paris bankers for Russian "preparedness," laid the fuel for the conflagration. If Austria set the match, Russia stood as close to the mischief as Germany. No love for Serbia, but rather her old ambition to seize Constantinople fixed her place in the secret compact with the Allied Powers.

We now know that England did not enter the war in behalf of Belgium. Earl Grey was never free to save Belgium from a German attack by a frank warning to Berlin that England would fight. Sorrowful as was the sinking of the Lusitania, we know now that the terrific destruction perpetrated illegally upon millions of women and children by the British blockade, begun before the period of submarine warfare, in which we too at last became accomplices, was incomparably more hideous.

People have been led by our unscrupulous war propaganda to suppose that the German Emperor actually plotted an orgy of conquest. We have read a damaging story of a conclave of conspirators at Potsdam just after the murder of the Austrian Archduke. Lloyd George used this story soon after we joined in the war, characterizing the meeting as "the most dangerous conspiracy ever plotted against the liberty of nations." This awful story was nothing but a piece of Dutch newspaper gossip. No such meeting was held at Potsdam.

The Emperor went off on his yacht to Norway immediately after the imaginary meeting, as if he apprehended no disturbance of the peace of the world. We were told that this was a crafty blind. A private letter, written in 1915, from the English chaplain at Balholm, the Kaiser's vacation headquarters, has just been published. I wish I could give your readers the whole interesting letter. It treats the extraordinary theory about the Kaiser, as one acting a part in a colossal falsehood as follows: He says that the tragic ending of his visit caused an impression so intense that, when war was declared, I never heard anyone at Balholm, even in their fiercest raging against Germany, express any other conviction (which was the result of what they themselves had seen and realized of the Kaiser's trouble) than this: That the Kaiser personally had faithfully done his utmost to try to stop the war directly he saw it threatening. * * * The monarch who on receiving a note can so simulate anguish as to cause his face to turn a deathly ashen hue, must be an actor of quite unique resources.

The writer adds: "I am an Englishman, with no sort of German leanings or connections. But sooner or later essential verities will have to be faced, and already England and Europe are beset by perils greater far than the German menace. This menace has still to be fought and countered; but I believe that the time is at hand when we can best counter it by other ways than illimitable carnage and destruction, viz.: by holding to truth unflinchingly and seeking a way along such rare threads as still remain of international brotherhood and equity." If these conclusions as to the utter fatuity of the war system were true five years ago, a whole array of facts, that have since come to light, make them ten times more impressive. It is the *verities* that make for pacifism.

—*Charles F. Dole.*

Honolulu, February 28, 1920.

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Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

SECTION FOR THE UNITED STATES

(Formerly Woman's Peace Party)

OBJECT:

To organize support for the resolutions passed at the Women's International Congress at the Hague in 1915 and in Zurich in 1919, and to support movements to further Peace, Internationalism and the Freedom of Women.

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Canada	India (British)	Sweden
Denmark	Ireland	Switzerland
Finland	Italy	United States

GENERAL OBJECTS:

To promote methods for the attainment of that peace between nations which is based on justice and good-will and to co-operate with women from other countries who are working for the same ends.

SPECIAL OBJECTS:

Those indicated by the Standing Committees and for immediate action to oppose universal compulsory military training; to oppose all invasions of Constitutional rights, free speech, free press and assembly and minority representation in legislative bodies; to oppose invasion of Mexico for purposes of war; to work to amend the League of Nations Covenant if it is ratified by the United States and if not so ratified, to secure a true Concert of Nations to substitute Law for War.

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All American women are urged to join this Section for U. S. A. of the Women's International League by use of the appended slip.

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